/88 cont./
723 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 273 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	šoñi	ekanštinnakčai
Former times		former times	people	have remained

toksanakaki		estansias	tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others		"estancias"	they died	we have remained

nekstal	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 [609] /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the 155 648 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/89 cont./

155 648 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 177 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Čipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Čipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Čipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

197 114

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/162 cont./
439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth started in a neighboring village were given to Čipaya women to be
464 finished. Formerly some Čipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá.
[199] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Čipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole
459 world upset the economic life of the Čipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Čipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

334 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Čipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and tuco, a kind of small rodent a little
[262] larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Čipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

/182 cont./

*539 101 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [574] [816] father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared [829] by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[p. 20 omitted in pagination.]

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua [222] /quinoa/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the [262] leaf of same..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[648] /31/...The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when [702] the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the [726] flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] ...(Sinchi Roca) ordered that...useless people, as the [648] Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of [651] them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[175] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes, [342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule....

[062] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant, [181] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land; they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They [648] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general [651] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats [101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, according to what they say.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; [101] so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were [361] another class of animals. Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock, and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 648 [511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [728] [509] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Analyst]

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
579 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[269] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[119] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y beneficio de los ingenios lamas y relaves de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las /34/ ordenanzas que en ello se an de quedar, fechas por el Escmo, Senor Don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey que fue de estos reinos /General Repartimiento of the Indians who are to be employed in work in the Mines and labor in connection with the mills, llamas, and metal sweepings of the Imperial Town of Potosi, with the ordinances that are to apply to it, ussed by his Excellency, Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, when Viceroy of these kingdoms/ (Lima, 16 August 1578).

175 162 This text gives two successive censuses, one in 1578, the other in 1596.

● [648] [466] For the work in Potosi two Uro mitayos were the equivalent of one Aymara mitayo, whence this information on the number of Uros in the census of the population of 16 provinces subject to the mita /forced labor/.

	1578		1596
Urus:	2,558	Paria (Poopo)	3,038
	37 "	Pune	62
	400 "	Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
	581 "	Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
	53 "	Urinoca	53
	2[illegible] "	Ancamarca y Colquemarca (Carangas)	2[illegible]6
	[illegible]00 "	Totora	100
	[illegible]02 "	Chuquicota y Sanaya	102
	147 "	Machaca la chica	147
	81 "	Machaca la grande	[illegible]1
	136 "	Viacha	?
	206 "	Tiaguanaco	?

[17th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues
[361] east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
[103] resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
[648] other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[797] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[771] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They
[262] are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
[142] a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
[308] and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
[181] knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[101] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
[131] Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Simillake.

[423] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
[489] defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
[926] throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
175 shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
721 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

4:Ver Ard--12 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[199] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [162] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

4:Vellard--16 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th - 17th Centuries]

/40 cont./

175 (Manuscriptos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

175 Report on the Province of the Pacajes
648 ...and when the Incas came and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hampers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina..../Translated from the Spanish./

[170] [191]

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. 55.)

000 /The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on P. 219]

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

[p. 219]

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[R19-C]

tenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village. 131 [33]

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time. 174 173

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mummies resting in the square and houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 172 648 F82

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[R 19-D]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

101 Professor VELLARD from the University of San
114 Marco, Lima, had been working for some time
on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near
the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake
121 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
194 the last survivors of the original population of the
South American continent, certain authorities con-
tend that they originally came up from the Amazon
as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known
as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the
great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.
174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions
did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
[361] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far
as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro,
which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
[177] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date
they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
175 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers,
[361] DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report
dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes
the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives
of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds
[348] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
[351] talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303-B]

8:Fein T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of pre-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Wone-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[113] [1]) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2]) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ouros*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

8:Pein T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Uru SP24
Text File

114 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preoccupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-recordings, we explored the village. There was practically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

We returned by the little church. Very occasionally a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *ilacata* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *suwatwičiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[20] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchku* (*kuču*) or *sicca quirkitku* (*kirkiča*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilaača* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

[20] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ṫuintatito* (= Aymara *Ṫunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maḳku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maḳku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maḳku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprizingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

I /165 cont./
*651 business. But there are so many in Pava /paua/ that there is not
*648 so large a group of them anywhere else, nor do I believe that
433 counting all of those who are in Collao together, which is the
657 place where they are, the number could be so large; they were
U inspected and taxed with the whole repartimiento. Thus the dis-
651 tribution was made among all of them together, in the form
U mentioned above. And even yet, according to what they asserted
651 to me, they do not comply with it, which, in the state of
648 affairs in which this province now finds itself, is owing to a lack
of industry, because those fishermen Indians are not supposed to be taxed with the others, but apart, and when one considers their condition and mode of life, neither should they be made to leave their land, nor should the tax oblige them to do so. Thus a very easy method could be found for dealing with them, inasmuch as when they should have made great progress in the articles of our faith, to their great benefit and repose, they could pay tribute like the other two subdivisions /parcialidades/, by becoming laborers upon the land, and with only 100 Indians who might be put on it, through their compulsory labor or work shifts/mitas o tandas/, as they call them, and giving them food and bringing them the necessary wool, and putting over them persons who could take charge of them, they could be made to yield as much profit and interest as I say. Let it be understood that they are not to be put in charge of anything themselves, because, having seen and dealt with this type of people, they have very little more ability than animals, /166/ and there are no others quite like them in the entire Realm. And if some should say that this was personal service, as they usually do, those who have more effects with their names alone than with all of the reasons in the world, but seeing it with one's own eyes, which is, it seems to me, the most evident proof of all, it should suffice to understand that 100 Indians well maintained, well occupied, and clothed will give the tribute that 2,000 could, spread out as far as Cuzco looking for it. For in this sort of employment they are capable and can earn their living at it, except that they are so disinterested that they are hiring

/166 cont./

themselves out for no more interest than half a peso per month. If they were all ordered to pay as tribute one piece of cloth, they would not comply, but they weave more than 2,000 to earn 500 pesos, while dying of hunger and being maltreated by those people. Truly this is the way it is, that they do not consider them to be men, nor do they themselves consider themselves as such.

The other subdivisions /parcialidades/ considered the distribution of the livestock and of the little mines in Soroche, and they even said to one another that they had to pay more, because they were more capable in the kind of business which yielded silver, and they dealt with the quality of the lands, and it was thus from the first time that I saw them apportion the tax until the last. I learned that they dealt with these things quite minutely, with the result that I also learned that, among themselves, the ability to pay on the part of the subdivisions /parcialidades/ is well known, from the time when they are formed, and when there is anything new they know about it, with the result that in this general division they then come to an accord with little noise, and the thing is done, and there is no doubt but that none of the principales of any subdivision /parcialidad/ recognizes any other or is subject to him so that he could be injured by him, except that there is the subdivision /parcialidad/ of Anansaya (133), which is usually recognized /167/

133. Anan-suyo = high region. Hanan or Hanac = high, what is above; suyo = region.

as somewhat pre-eminent in the making of accounts in their houses and in calling them together when it should be ordered. But among the subdivisions /parcialidades/ themselves there is no doubt but that they scrutinize every tomin in many places, and that none of them allows itself to be abused by any of the others. This must be understood, as I have said at other times, in many places, when dealing with the ability to pay, and the